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ABSTRACT

Because most adult students learning English by correspondence never meet their tutors, a study was conducted in which students were asked to send in tape recordings of some experience in their lives. As in the impersonal and rather sterile situation of correspondence study, the students were talking to a listener they could not visualize so that the general problem of audience was magnified. It was therefore hypothesized that since the speakers did not know who they were talking to, they would turn back to themselves as the audience. Analysis of four monologue tapes showed that two of the students did turn back to themselves as audience. When talking about their experiences, they adopted the role of onlooker or spectator. The other two students' tapes revealed a retreat to formality and awkward phrasing. Whereas an unknown audience constrained the speech and limited the range of subjects for the latter two students, the adaptation to self as audience freed the other two students to speak fluently and openly about their experiences. (HOD)

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Australian Studies in Language and Education
Monograph Series

Private Talk: A Study of Monologue

Virginia Battye and Peter Moss

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Foreword

This publication is one of a series commissioned by the National Committee on English Teaching. The funding of the Committee's program became the responsibility of the Curriculum Development Centre from 1 July, 1976.

The purposes of the series are set out on the rear cover. The views expressed are those of the author's and are not necessarily those of the Committee or the Centre. The Centre commends the Committee's initiative in producing the series.

M. SKILBECK
Director
Curriculum Development Centre

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Introduction

The situation which generated the work described in this study is one that has had scant attention in the field of the teaching of English or in serious research studies. We refer to teaching-by-correspondence.

For teachers of English this study presents, in an extreme form, one of the central issues. That is, the way in which personal language mediates the self and society; the relationship of that language to the awareness of an audience, be it realistically or imaginatively apprehended. We attempt to put back 'a sense of people' into the faceless, silent world of correspondence teaching.

We trace a series of monologues that represent a kind of classroom language. Because of the situation these monologues constitute a curious and extreme example of classroom language, yet are so much the more suggestive. We believe that they suggest directions for all English teachers. For they forced us to consider what we may be leaving out of our work with students. It might not be realistic to have students prepare taped personal monologues for teachers, and for each other, as regular classroom exercises. Nevertheless, the role of audience, assumed or real, is a factor about which little is known in relation to general development. This study does no more than provide some sidelights on a vast and complex area. But it does offer some evidence as to the importance of an audience, both for individual poise and for personal language choices.

Virginia Battye
Peter Moss

The Problem of Audience

English teachers express concern that students write with the English teachers as their sole audience; a limited audience limits the student's presentation of his subject. Attempts are being made by some teachers to increase the audience, but while work is still being assessed by the teacher, such attempts represent little more than tokenism.

The problem of a limited audience is aggravated in the situation of teaching adults English by correspondence. Most of the students do not meet their tutors, nor do they know anything about them. For some students the anonymity of the correspondence situation has freed them: they, too, are anonymous and so they can express themselves without fear of personal censure. If there is criticism, it comes from a faceless being who has little bearing on the student's life. For other students, however, this anonymity has led to constraints in their writing. Uncertainty about the attitudes of the audience leads to uncertainty about the response to a student's work. This can have a stifling effect upon the presentation of ideas.

Hoping to introduce a more personal element to the course, we suggested to some students that they should send in tapes on which they were to speak of some experience in their lives. We would respond on tape so that at least each of us would know what the other sounded like. The tapes moreover provided an opportunity for us to make more detailed comments on a student's work than was normally possible on the written assignments.

Richard Hoggart, in his discussion of tone in autobiography, asks the question: 'Who do you think you're talking to?'* This question is significant in a study of these monologues. In the impersonal and rather sterile situation of correspondence study, the students were talking to a listener they could not visualise so that the general problem of audience was magnified. With these taped monologues we wished to find strategies with which speakers would react when recounting their experiences to an unknown listener.

The hypothesis was that, since the speakers did not know who they were talking to, they would turn back on to themselves as the audience. This did happen with the tapes of two of our students (W.L. and A.J.), who reviewed their experiences for themselves. But with another two (E.B. and S.R.), consciousness of an outside listener played an important part.

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*Richard Hoggart, *Only Connect: On Culture and Communication*, p.33.

Discourse

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPEAKER, AUDIENCE AND SUBJECT

In his study of discourse, James Moffett refers to the rhetorical relation of 'I' to 'you', of speaker to audience.* In discourse, this relation is crossed with the relation of speaker to subject. These three elements, of speaker, audience and subject, are always present in discourse. Whether the relation of speaker to audience, or of speaker to subject, predominates will vary both with the occasion and with the speaker's intention. Whichever relation predominates will determine the form discourse takes.

DISTANCE — REAL AND METAPHORICAL

Distance between speaker and audience is important in determining the style and mode of discourse. Moffett discusses distance in time and space between speaker and audience. The relative distance leads to four modes of discourse: reflection when the speaker is talking to himself; conversation when the speaker is talking to someone present; correspondence when the audience is known but absent; and publication when the audience is large, unknown and absent.† These categories do not take account of tape-recordings where speech is possible even when the audience is absent. (Britton recognises such a medium in his reference to disembodied trans-Atlantic tape swapping.‡ In Moffett's model, these tapes approximate correspondence, but with the vocal features of conversation.)

But there is also a metaphorical distance between speaker and audience that Moffett's model does not include. There is a wide range of possible relationships within these categories that are not considered. The distance of feelings, attitudes, status — the relative friendliness, is most important in these tapes. The physical distance of space has meant that the speakers have not met us and so are talking to an unknown audience. The distances of time and space have resulted in tapes being used, but it is the metaphorical distance between the student and tutor that has most influenced the speech.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPEAKER AND AUDIENCE

Harold Rosen§, in considering the relationship between speaker and audience, asks a series of questions about that relationship:

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*James Moffett, *Teaching the Universe of Discourse*, pp 31-2.
†ibid., p.33.
‡James Britton, *Language and Learning*, p.115.
§Harold Rosen, 'Messages and Message Makers', p.89.

How does he (the speaker) stand in relation to his audience? What is his relative status? What degree of intimacy is there between them? Are there shared or opposing attitudes? How aware are they of this?

The significance of each of these questions will come out in the detailed examination of each tape.

Glyn Thomas* discusses the idea of 'the degree of intimacy' between speaker and audience, or writer and audience, in his article 'The Process of Writing'. He considers the situation of a person starting to correspond with someone he does not know, but with whom he 'wishes to establish friendly relations'. In the initial correspondence there will be 'all kinds of constraints operating on what the speaker says and the way he says it'.

As the correspondence that Thomas uses as an example continues, the constraints disappear and the writing becomes more fluent. The speaker moreover feels able to include more of himself in the correspondence. There is not the same necessity to adopt an 'artificial role'.

THE EMERGENCE OF 'SELF': AND THE 'GENERALISED OTHER'

The studies of Moffett, Rosen and Thomas all show that the speaker's awareness of his audience affects his speech or writing. But they do not explore the process by which this effect is brought about. They show that changes in the speaker/audience relation lead to changes in discourse, but they do not explain how this happens. George Mead however provides an explanation.†

In *Mind, Self and Society*, Mead maintains that the 'self' emerges from the social context. For the self to develop, it is necessary for the individual to take up the attitudes of his society or community: the attitudes of the 'generalised other'. These attitudes form the basis of his thinking.

> Only by taking the attitude of the generalised other toward himself . . . can he think at all; for only thus can thinking — or the internalised conversation of gestures which constitutes thinking — occur. And only through the taking by individuals of the attitude or attitudes of the generalised other toward themselves is the existence of a universe of discourse, as that system of common or social meanings which thinking presupposes as its context, rendered possible.‡

Mead distinguishes between abstract and concrete thought in this process of taking up the attitudes of the generalised other. In abstract thought, the individual takes up the attitudes of his society without connecting those to other individuals. In concrete thought, the individual takes up the attitudes as they are expressed in the other individuals, with whom he is in contact in a particular situation.

In the making of these tapes, a situation involving concrete thought, to take up the thoughts of the generalised other, is to recognise the attitudes of the audience. Rosen's fourth question concerning the relation of addressor and addressee was 'Are there any shared or opposing attitudes?'. The speakers did not know our attitudes to the subjects they were discussing. They assumed that

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*Glyn Thomas, 'The Process of Writing', p.78.
†George Mead, *Mind Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*.
‡ibid., p.156.

we would oppose their attitudes and so tried to rationalise them. The audience here becomes the generalised other, holding the attitudes of the community. This accounts for the students' feeling that they had to justify the attitudes they expressed. If their attitudes coincided with their perception of society's attitudes they would not have felt the need to rationalise.

The audience, then, or at least the speaker's concept of his audience, has played an integral part in these monologues. Through the taking up of the attitudes of the unknown audience — the generalised other — the speakers have been able to shape their own attitudes. The audience has provoked the 'I' of the self to shape and voice its attitudes.

Mead shows that the audience also plays a vital part in the activity of speech as well as in thought. As a person is speaking, he is continually looking objectively at what he has said. He takes the attitude of the other — his audience — to what he has said, and responds to that. He is therefore adjusting his speech continually.

> Responding to one's self as another responds to it, taking part in one's own conversation with others, being aware of what one is saying and using that awareness of what one is saying to determine what one is going to say thereafter, that is a process with which we are all familiar. We are continually following up our own address to other persons by our understanding of what we are saying, and using that understanding in the direction of our continued speech.*

The important point here is that when a speaker is heard and accepted in the fullest sense, then his speech is validated. It is therefore real. He can continue speaking. In the classroom, merely to assent or dissent is not enough. Teachers who adopt the code of a restrictive censor are no help to students' speech or thought processes.

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*George Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist.*

The Monologues

THE UNKNOWN AUDIENCE: CONSTRAINTS

We shall now study S.R.'s and E.B.'s tapes in detail, to show how the speakers' concepts of their audience have influenced both their styles of speech and their presentation of subject. We start with the questions posed by Rosen about the speaker/listener relation. Answers to these questions will be related to Mead's theory of the generalised other, and the way in which the speaker adjusts his continued speech as he takes account of the other, his audience.

S.R. is unsure of his audience. His first comments on the tape reveal this.

> Good evening Miss Battye. I'm now about to start this cassette of which you requested. I hope that um my voice is not so much a shock to you as it is to me. Hearing it through my own nasal passages I thought that it would be a lot clearer and perhaps not so deep. In my last assignment I asked you for a few details about yourself which I had hoped would help me to know what type of cassette to make tonight, but unfortunately you appear to be a bit too cunning for me and so I'm in a bit of – in a bit of a dilemma as to know whether you are only a few years older than myself in which case I'd call you Virginia or if you are – forgive me for saying so – old enough to be me grandmother, in that case I'd have to call you Miss Battye.

(a) **The retreat to formality:** Thomas refers to constraints placed on speech through unfamiliarity with the audience. Such constraints can be seen in this short passage which is typical of the patterns through the tape. The first part is awkward in its phrasing. When colloquial speech eventually comes through, it is quickly checked by formal phrases. There is an alternation of formal and colloquial phrasing.

> I'm now about to start this cassette **of which** you requested.

The 'of which you requested' seems an attempt to be grammatically correct – it sounds formal and therefore 'correct English'. The following sentence has a stilted structure not usually found in speech.

> I hope that um my voice is not so much a shock to you as it is to me.

The formality continues in the next sentence with the knowledgeable comment, 'hearing it through my own nasal passages'. His awareness of what he is saying is seen clearly in the following statement. S.R. is speaking fluently and has just accused his audience of being 'a bit too cunning for me', when he comes to a halt as if he has just realised what he has said. After a hesitation, he retreats behind a formal phrase 'in a bit of a dilemma as to know whether . . .' He has used the awareness of what he has said to determine what follows.

Formal constructions are used later in the tape in the same way, to halt

colloquial speech. S.R. is talking fluently about an incident in his childhood when he and his brother were playing football.

> Anyway we were out the back having a kick of football and he's always fancied himself as a bit of an adventurer and he said um 'Let's go round the back of the house and I'll see if I can drop-kick the ball over the house'. Well at the time Mum was in the lounge which is round the back, talking on the phone to her sister and Greg and myself's auntie. Anyway she was just sitting next to the window and didn't really know what was going on, so Greg lines up the ball and attempted to drop-kick the ball over the house and much to my dismay, instead of seeing the ball sail over the top of the house, it sailed right through the lounge window and poor old Mum nearly had a heart attack right on the spot.

The recording is stopped here and when it is resumed the style of speech has changed completely. This example suggests a parallel in the conventional classroom. The stopping of the tape is analogous to a pause in the flow of spontaneous speech, where the speaker requires confirmation or criticism from the listener. Lacking any guides, he has presumably played safe and allowed the formal teaching relationship to obtrude. Consequently, the spontaneity is stifled and the tone and atmosphere are quickly closed down. Similarly, in the classroom, without a general and discursive guide the flow would be reduced to a formal trickle.*

> But when I advanced to school, things seemed to quieten down a trifle.

He has changed from the colloquial back to formal, stilted language thought to be suitable for the audience. Towards the end of the tape his discussion of failure at school is marked by formal phrases and constructions:

> Once again I was confronted with the headmaster and after a lengthy discussion it was decided that I should have a go at matriculation.

'Have a go at' sounds odd in this formal passage: it is the colloquial coming through. The last section of the tape indicates the strong awareness of audience that was so marked at the beginning. The language becomes stilted and inappropriately formal. The formality is accentuated in the conclusion, a formula of imposed and empty reciprocity.

> At this stage I think this cassette is running for about seven to eight minutes. Um you required one between five to ten minutes and at this stage I really haven't talked about what I wished to talk about. It was going to tell you something about my family, my job and my future ambitions, but at this stage, with the cassette running in excess of eight minutes now it appears that perhaps in a later cassette that I'll be able to tell you about these things. And for the moment I guess I'll have to sign off so I hope that this cassette has helped you in your work because it has certainly helped me in mine.

(b) **Use of cliches and repeated phrases:** The repeated use of 'at this stage' is striking in the above quote. In his Reith lecture 'Talking to Yourself', Richard Hoggart referred to the use of cliches and phrases — the 'at this stage's'. He spoke of them as 'insurances, crutches, face-savers, hedging of bets'.

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*See two different but complementary studies: D. Barnes, 'Language in the Secondary Classroom'; and J. McH. Sinclair and R.M. Coulthard, *Towards an Analysis of Discourse*.

> There are dozens of ways of trying — more often than not unconsciously — to forestall criticism, to protect ourselves on all fronts by means of stylistic devices, dozens of ways of cutting corners, dozens of intellectual and emotional evasions . . . By these favourite words, phrases and movements we project desirable images of ourselves.*

S.R. has been using formal phrases and cliches, unconsciously we think, to protect himself from criticism and to project a desirable image. 'Of course' is repeated five times; 'at this stage' four times. They provide impressive-sounding fill-ins.

> I should say at this stage of course that in Leaving I passed four subjects, failed two subjects . . .

Cliches have provided him with a retreat when he has become inappropriately colloquial. When he could have been insulting to his audience, accusing her of being old, he slips in the cliche to soften the blow:

> or if you are — forgive me for saying so — old enough to be me grandmother.

S.R. has also used cliches as 'emotional evasions'. They have helped him hide from his failures:

> invariably I always came last — mind you quite a creditable last.

When discussing fourth-year school students, he turns to a cliche: 'all modesty aside', before trying to justify his poor results:

> Myself, well I only just passed and all my mates — they seemed to romp home, but the worst thing about it all was that, all modesty aside, I seemed to do about five or six times more study and more homework than they and yet they in the end result got far better marks than myself.

He had begun to talk freely in a colloquial style but then he hesitated and interrupted the flow of speech with the cliche. This 'all modesty aside' has an apologetic note, as if he has to apologise for his statement that he worked hard.

(c) **The generalised other:** The choice of subject and its treatment is determined by the speaker/audience relation. S.R. was asked to speak about a significant experience in his life. He chooses to speak about his years at school; his success on the sports-field, and his failure in the classroom: suitable topics for his audience, Miss Battye, English tutor, old enough to be his grandmother.

It is the way in which he talks on this topic which reflects so clearly the speaker/audience relation. His audience is a teacher, and her attitudes are perceived as those of the generalised other: the school community and the wider social community that upholds the values of the school. Expectations of groups and institutions impinge in many ways upon the individual, and have formative and controlling force upon language use. This external influence is fairly well documented but there is little material describing the way in which individuals act as their own censors. S.R. is an example of this reaction. On the tape, he defends himself against the attitudes of the generalised other; against the

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*Richard Hoggart, *Only Connect: On Culture and Communication*, p.30.

attitudes presumably held by his audience.* This response by the individual to the attitudes of the generalised other, or the audience, is the response of the 'I' to the 'me', a distinction made by George Mead.

> The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the 'me' is the organised set of attitudes of others which one assumes . . .
> The 'I' then, in this relation of the 'I' and the 'me' is something that is, so to speak, responding to a social situation which is within the experience of the individual. It is the answer which the individual makes to the attitude which others take toward him when he assumes an attitude toward them.†

According to the 'attitudes of the others', S.R. has been a failure, at least in the school situation. When talking about his schooling S.R. admits that he almost failed or did fail several times. In Grade 1, he was 'almost relegated to Grade 1 again the following year'. In second year at high school, he 'had actually failed'. In fourth year, when, 'with all modesty aside', he claims he worked harder than all his mates, he 'only just passed'. He failed fifth year.

> for the first time in twelve years of schooling I eventually failed, much to my dismay.

This contradicts his earlier statement about second year. 'Fail' changes its meaning: the speaker's awareness of the attitudes of his audience leads him to this evasion, through his need to hide the reality from his audience — and from himself. The 'I' is retreating from the censure of the 'me'. The emphasis on how hard he worked in fourth year is an attempt to redeem his lack of success.

His comments on coming a 'creditable last', as well as his changing use of the word 'fail', provide escape from the censure of the generalised other. The audience, then, has determined not only his presentation of the subject but also his approach to it.

(d) **The 'self'**: The unknown audience, perceived as the generalised other, has prompted S.R. to react with apologies and rationalisations. The apologies are usually indicated by the word 'unfortunately', which is repeated five times in the tape:

> Unfortunately you appear to be a bit too cunning for me . . . Unfortunately, although I'll give you my autobiography, it is not going to be full of action . . . About nineteen and a half years ago, unfortunately, I was born in Greenways . . . I s'pose, unfortunately, sport came number one and education number two . . . Unfortunately in the last term I seemed to have gone to water.

If this monologue is seen as an exploration of the self, this repeated use of 'unfortunately' indicates a distressingly negative view of the self, particularly in the statement: 'About nineteen and a half years ago, unfortunately, I was born in Greenways'. From the tape, it is not clear whether he means that it was unfortunate he was born at all, was born nineteen and a half years ago, or born in Greenways. We doubt that he knows what he means himself! Although the use of the word 'unfortunately' is a habit of speech, it does reflect a view of the

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*Some interesting views regarding 'extrinsic force' can be found in M.L. Wax S. Diamond and F.O. Gearing, *Anthropological Perspectives in Education*. See especially the papers by Bud Khleif and Jules Henry.

†George Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*, pp. 175, 177.

self as being inadequate.

(e) **The audience re-defined:** Several months after making this first tape, S.R. sent in another tape. On this tape, he took up the topics he had referred to at the end of his first tape: the topics he had wanted to speak about then but had not had enough time. On this second tape, he talks briefly about his family, his work and then his ambitions. For most of this tape, there are not the hesitations nor the apologies of the first tape. S.R. now has more idea of his audience. His tutor had replied on his previous tape, telling him something about herself and assuring him that she was not old enough to be his grandmother. Since she requested the second tape, he perhaps felt that she was interested in hearing from him again. He starts more confidently.

> Well hello again, Virginia. It certainly was nice to get that tape. I wasn't really sure how you would sound. It was a pleasant surprise to find out that you were young enough to let me call you Virginia and not Miss Battye.

In their article 'Embarrassment and Analysis of Role Requirements', E. Gross and G.P. Stone make the point that women are more concerned with **names** than are men, who often give **titles** instead, when establishing their identity.

> Because the social participation of men in American society is relatively more frequently caught up in the central structures, for example, the structure of work, than is the social participation of women who are relatively more immersed in interpersonal relations, the identities put forward by men are often **titles**; by women, often **names**.*

Perhaps Australian society does not have the same sexist divisions in social participation; S.R. certainly seems very concerned to establish identity through using names. On both tapes, there is a preoccupation with what he can call his tutor, and this preoccupation has carried over into letters. His first letter started with the conventional greeting 'Dear Miss Battye', the second changes to 'Ms Virginia' and the third 'Miss V. Battye'. Why has he dropped the 'Dear'? There seems to be embarrassment over the roles, as student and teacher, despite her telling him he could use first name terms.

The way S.R. addresses her seems to indicate his view of the roles and relationship. On the second tape he has very consciously turned to the first name. Research into the selection of *tu* and *vous* among French speakers, has indicated that this selection is now based primarily on the relative intimacy of sender and receiver. Historically, the selection was based on relative power.† We haven't such a distinction as *tu* and *vous*, but the shift from surname to first name is probably even more significant. S.R.'s shift from surname to first name seems a conscious attempt to break down the student/teacher power barrier (as was the tutor's suggestion that he use her first name). It also indicates that the distance between speaker and audience is not so great this time. This

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*E. Gross and G.P. Stone, 'Embarrassment and the Analysis of Role Requirements', p.358.

†S. Ervin-Tripp, 'An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener', p.72.

'relative intimacy' has altered his speech patterns and the treatment of his subject.

For the first part of the second tape, S.R. speaks about his family. This is a topic where the attitudes of the audience, the generalised other, are not opposed to those of the speaker. The **I** is not called upon to speak against the **me**. The speaker does not have to defend himself, rationalise or apologise.

(f) **The impersonal self:** The style of speech alters when S.R. starts talking about his ambitions. At the beginning of the second tape, he referred to his 'rather limited ambitions', a self-effacing description. When he begins to speak about these ambitions he changes to the impersonal third person 'one':

> When one starts thinking about ambition one must be realistic and take into thought the job in which one is working in now, and there are many ways within the company that one can go up the ladder of success, and just takes a little bit of thought and time to think about what one would prefer to do, whether one would like to spend their forty hours per week confined to the office, which I do now, or maybe spend forty hours a week working out in the forest itself which is a possibility, or alternatively which many people do out there, spend approximately twenty hours per week in the office and twenty hours per week outside the office, which gives a great variety in the job and I would think cuts down boredom.

The speaker seems to be trying to dissociate himself from these ambitions by presenting them as general ambitions rather than his, in particular. He apologises at the beginning for having limited amibitions, perhaps reacting to the assumed response of the audience that one should not have such limited ambitions; to keep on working for the same company in the same township.

In defending this ambition, the speaker adopts the terminology of industrial relations, as if his concern were the welfare of workers in general:

> This factor it makes that the employee enjoys his job more, would work better and because of this and the fact that he would not be bored with doing the same work for forty hours per week, he would be more than likely to stay with the company for a longer period of time.

At the end of the tape, S.R. talks of his dream for the future, when he has come into money. Even here, he moves from 'I' to 'one':

> I would dearly love to buy myself a sports store whereby one would become involved in a subject which one takes great personal interest and I can't really see that one would ever get sick and tired of working in a field in which one gets great personal enjoyment.

This movement from 'I' to 'one' does not seem to be just a movement from the particular to the general. It is another emotional evasion. The speaker is wary of the audience's response to this dream, and so he retreats from an outright claim on it as his own ambition. Here, as in the first tape, the speaker's image of his audience has affected his style of speech and his presentation of the subject.

E.B., the second speaker in the series of monologues, is older than S.R. and so possibly feels more at ease with the audience. Unlike S.R., who is not comfortable in establishing any personal contact through letters, E.B. has sent a letter with each written exercise to be marked. In her letters she has discussed problems encountered in the exercises and has added comments about her

family and the farm.

When returning the exercises, as well as being able to help with some of the problems in the course, the tutor added a few personal comments in reply. This personal contact has broken down the constraints on E.B.'s speech. E.B.'s tape is conservational in style. The awareness of the audience is shown in her approach to her subject, and in the attitudes she expresses, but does not have the same stifling effect on the flow of speech as it had on S.R.'s.

(g) **The self and the generalised other:** E.B. is a married woman living and working on a farm in the country with her husband and three sons. On the tape she is speaking to a single woman living in the city. The city appears as a threatening force. When describing her life-style, the speaker's stance is defensive, as if she anticipates criticism on the part of the listener.

Whenever E.B. makes a comment that could be interpreted as a criticism of her way of life she quickly balances it with a further comment stressing that she is happy:

> Once the boys went back to school I had to gather up the reins again, and although I enjoy working with Brian and I love the farm life, it's pretty constant and er I haven't had a lot of free time but I don't begrudge that. I'd rather be busy than not.

She is responding to herself as others might respond, and using the awareness of what she has said in her continued speech. She is aware that the listener's response to any complaints about farmers' problems might be that farmers should leaving farming if they don't like it! So she continues her conversation with a reply to that assumed attitude. After talking about the problems of the dry season in relation to crops, she hastily asserts that she enjoys farm life:

> The old men in the district shake their heads and say 'Of course it'll come', but that's not much consolation if it comes too late to seed. However, that's one of the occupational hazards of being a farmer and we wouldn't swap it for anything.

As Mead says, she is finding out what she is going to say and do, by saying and doing, and she is continually controlling the process.

The defensive stance is seen most clearly in the next part of the tape:

> I'm . . . I'm not one of these women that want to be liberated. I feel quite liberated enough. We do our own thing and we — we enjoy each other's company and our life with our children and our home, and I enjoy the animals and the work home here so I don't feel there is any need to go out and work. I get most irate when the women ram down our throats that we should be liberated and let loose of our homes and we're stale etc. if we stay home. I feel that if somebody's trained and requires that outside stimulation that's their kettle of fish, but mine is my home and my outside work so that's my choice but I object to people who don't respect that choice. They sort of look upon you as if, you know, 'What are you doing home? Why aren't you working?' I know some circumstances mothers are required to work, especially in the city where the prices must be so high, whereas home here we can kill our own meat and we have our own — we milk a cow, two cows in the morning, which supplies us with milk, cream, butter and our own ice cream 'n I've turned back to nature and enjoy making our own bread and er we're pretty self-sufficient but I realise that's not possible in the city.

The vehemence of this part is lost in the transcription. E.B. stresses these

ideas — she underlines the point that she likes working 'home here'. She seems to assume that her audience will be critical of her staying at home helping her husband; that her audience will accuse her of 'being stale'. She defends her position before that criticism can be voiced.

The city, as a world apart, is first mentioned in this discussion of working women. There is a strong sense of the difference between city and country. This is continued in her discussion of the boys' education. She and her husband want their sons to go to school in Adelaide, to find out 'how the other half live'; but the city appears as a source of problems, a possible threat, in her comment:

> I think probably it's better to get them to school while under supervision than to be let loose in perhaps fourth or fifth year and think 'Whacko! I'm in the city. Here goes!' And that would worry me to death.

Her final comment again shows a defensive reaction to an assumed audience attitude:

> I don't think I'm as housebound as probably it sounds. We have lots of young married friends of our own age group and their children, I feel we lead a reasonably full life without anything traumatic happening every five minutes of the day.

It seems an attempt to assure the audience, and maybe herself, that she *is* enjoying her life.

(h) **The Spectator Role:** In this tape E.G. has been taking the role of spectator on her own life: she is presenting her day-to-day pattern of life to an unknown listener, and in doing this she is reviewing her life-style for herself as well. Mead writes about the way an individual addresses himself while at the same time addressing others:

> it [the significance of what one is saying] is still a part of social intercourse in which one is addressing other persons and at the same time addressing one's self, and in which one controls the address to other persons by the response made to one's own gesture. That the person should be responding to himself is necessary to the self, and it is this sort of social conduct which provides behaviour within which that self appears.*

When she starts to talk about her social activities in the community E.B. drifts from one point to another, as if scanning the whole range of activities available to her. She starts with education but quickly moves on to voluntary work:

> I think probably having spoken to a lot of people about this education thing, in the course of conversation it's come up several times with people wanting to do things but not quite knowing what. Er a lot of us are occupied with Welfare Club, taking an interest in what goes on at the school; the sporting bodies all need voluntary er help to run their swimming pool canteen and our er food canteen at the school is run on a voluntary basis. Er we only have to become — I think really our Church and our school keep us occupied.

This seems to represent an assessment of her social life for her own benefit. For the listener, it lacks coherence until the last sentence. The situation of

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*George Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*, p.142.

making this tape has forced her to make this response to herself as another would respond. It has forced the role of spectator upon her. She has had to make a 'detached non-operative evaluation' of her activities. D.W. Harding has examined the role of onlooker:

> It is in the spectator's detached evaluative relationship to experience that the vastly increased scope achieved by representation most concerns us . . . What we represent may be actual experiences from our own past, things that have happened to others but which we now transfer to ourselves, or merely possibilities of experience.**

For most of the tape, E.B. represents actual experiences from her life and evaluates them. In one section, however, she moves from a representation of her own experience to 'things that have happened to others' and from that comes a general evaluation.†

> For the first time Brian let the three boys drive the tractor by themselves and they thought they were pretty smart, but he was usually picking stones or something in the middle of the paddock so that they wouldn't be completely on their own. I'm rather scared of and frightened of machines and little boys. There's usually accidents and sometimes dreadful accidents connected with machinery and I'm always — they don't realise the risks that are involved. They think they're strong enough to handle it but they only have to hit a stone and the machine turns and they've lost control but — anyway — they all went back to school safe and sound and we were glad to be able to work because going by the TDT news last night — I think it's a man at South Hummocks — they showed his land and the mice have eaten the wheat that they've sown dry and what with mouse plagues and no rain it must be a terrible problem. We're very fortunate here, we had some rain at the beginning and we have got green feed although it's very slow in coming along but it's very dry.

Her remarks about her sons using the tractor lead to a comment on the dangers of farm machinery, and then to a note of thankfulness that they are able to work. From here, she moves to the experiences of others — experiences she has found out about from television. After discussing the situation of one farmer, she makes a general comment on the problems of the season before returning to her own farm again. In all of this, she is playing the role of onlooker, representing and evaluating experience.

(i) **Speaking for a 'public' — distant, unknown and absent:** In a second tape E.B. made, she gave a 'free-talking tape — to whom it may concern'. (This tape was not requested by her tutor). She was addressing an anonymous listener. As she had no idea of who would be listening to it, she spoke in a manner comprehensible to all — and interesting to none!

She speaks in a monotone on this tape, which contrasts sharply with the

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**D.W. Harding, 'The Role of the Onlooker', p.255.

†W. Labov and J. Weletzky, 'Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967. William Labov has developed a structural analysis of narrative in which he has pertinent things to say about 'evaluation', viewing it as a more complex and more easily identifiable aspect then in this study. He found, from his taped material, that all narratives of personal experience contain evaluative devices, and that these may be the narrator's means to indicate the real meaning of the piece; or may be used as self-aggrandisement; or may be used to aid the listeners in following the structure.

changes in tone on her first tape. In the 'anonymous' tape she speaks slowly and carefully in simple sentences.

> I'm going to speak on something of my life here in a small part of South Australia. I am a farmer's wife on the southern part of Eyre Peninsular. Eyre Peninsular is about four hundred miles west of Adelaide by motor – motor car. er We have access to Adelaide by means of an hourly trip on an aeroplane from Port Lincoln or a couple of times-weekly service via Troubridge from Port Lincoln or of course by car.

The formality of this tape is indicated in the correction – 'motor – motor car'. Abbreviations are not used: 'We have access to Adelaide by means of'. The constraints on speech that Glyn Thomas referred to are evident in this tape-recording. They are not evident in the tapes addressed to her tutor.

We have not transcribed all of E.B.'s 'anonymous' tape; it is too long and too boring. The sections that we have made a transcription of, are on similar subjects to those discussed in the first tape. A comparison of the two scripts shows how important an idea of the audience is in expressive talk.

The first tape is tied to personal experiences. When E.B. moves from her own life, she moves to concrete examples of people she has heard about.

> going by the TDT news last night – I think it's a man at South Hummocks – they showed his land and the mice have eaten the wheat that they've sown dry and what with mouse plagues and no rain it must be a terrifle problem.

The 'we' of this extract is not E.B.'s family – it is the whole community of Eyre Peninsular. It is not related to direct experience. This extract reads, and sounds, like a list of possibilities for goods cartage.

When speaking of the rainfall in the anonymous tape, she gives statistics.

> Um our average rainfall is about eighteen to twenty inches. We are usually assured of a very reasonable amount of growth concerning grass, crops, etc. We feel in our little corner of the world that we are very fortunate; we have a fairly steady rainfall.

Here again the constraints placed on speech by an unknown audience result in awkward phrasing, as well as a slightly patronising tone. By contrast, a discussion of rainfall in the first tape is tied directly to her own experience:

> We're very fortunate here, we had some rain at the beginning and we have got green feed although it's very slow in coming along but it's very dry . . . . The old men in the district shake their heads and say 'Of course it'll come', but that's not much consolation if it comes too late to seed.

With the completely unknown audience there is the pressure to keep to general statements; with an image of her audience, E.B. can speak of her own experiences, which makes much more interesting listening.

In both tapes, there are assurances that she would not like to change her way of life, that she enjoys living on a farm. In the first tape, the sense of difference between city and country is conveyed, and this is repeated in the 'anonymous' tape. In the first, however, city people are seen as having many problems:

> I know some circumstances mothers are required to work, especially in the city where the prices must be so high . . .

In the second tape, the problems of the country people are emphasised.

> We don't ask for hand-outs — we don't get hand-outs. We get bank loans; we get repayment loans. Um. But we do ask a fair deal and this is probably the biggest gripe of the lot.

There is a ring of the political platform in this version. It seems that she has to take up the cause of *country people*, whereas in the first she feels freer to express her own views on the differing life-styles.

(j) **Relationship between speaker and subject varying according to relationship between speaker and audience:** A comparision of E.B.'s two tapes supports the view that knowledge of the audience, or at least an image of the audience, is important in the expressive use of language. The speaker/subject relation has certainly been altered in these tapes by the speaker/audience relation. Both tapes are on the same subject. The difference in presentation is due to a difference in the view of the audience.

On a third tape, E.B. spoke about making this second recording. She commented on the difficulty of speaking to an anonymous listener. Her comments are applicable to writing as well as speaking. She recognises the importance of her audience.

> When I'm talking to you on the tape-recorder it's — although I don't know you personally, it's a person-to-person tape. When I do a free tape I would feel unless I knew who I was talking to, that would perhaps — change the way I would speak on a tape. If I've got something to argue I have to argue or speak to or about or with a certain group of people and I think probably that's what's influenced my writing perhaps in this course. I write to you as a person arguing or speaking my point of view to you as a person.

We think this approach has influenced her writing for the College of External Studies. Her answers through the year have become more informal: she writes in fragments, tossing out ideas as they come to her. Much of her meaning is implied — she knows that her audience is familiar with the subject. Since making the tapes, this movement towards informality and implied meaning has become more pronounced.

What is striking about the tapes of both S.R. and E.B., in human terms, is their richness. The complex and varied strategies used by S.R., for instance, belie the mediocrity of his formal achievements. S.R.'s spontaneous, if inelegant structuring when he is forced back upon his own resources, demonstrates the potential we all possess for using language. Teachers can draw lessons from the way this young man's position of *open restriction* has led him, often unconsciously, to reveal subtle and varied language strategies. Significantly, the strategies have led outwards; or have been stifled by perceived or assumed constraints within the situation.

The type of verbal and situational quickness, shown by both these speakers, needs to be channelled into outlets other than the merely self-protective. The formal codes used in institutions of all types tend to strait-jacket the individual and his language. The web of social experience and language usage is so tightly woven that to attempt to separate them, as do many schools and universities, is destructively futile.

THE UNKNOWN AUDIENCE: FREEDOM

The unknown audience has had a different effect upon A.J. and W.L., two women students whose tapes have formed part of this study. Instead of con-

straining the speaker and limiting the range of subject, the awareness of an unknown audience has freed the speakers to speak fluently and openly about their experiences. The unknown audience and the anonymity of a tape-recording provides the speaker with an opportunity to explore and reflect upon their experiences. Each speaker is as much her own audience as is the unknown listener. To return to Moffett's categories, these taped monologues resemble 'reflection' as much as 'correspondence' and 'conversation'. Emphasis is shifted from the speaker/listener relation to the speaker/subject relation.

(a) **The spectator role: 'to savour, to appreciate, to interpret'**: When talking about their experience these women adopt the role of onlooker or spectator. They can now view events in a 'detached, non-operative manner'. As spectators, they can now appreciate when they were participating. Britton wrote of the spectator being able 'to savour', 'to appreciate' and 'to interpret' events in the relating of an experience.* In these tapes the spectators are seen doing just this. Their attention is turned from the unknown listener to focus on the events they are relating. Nevertheless the audience is acknowledged. The way the subject is presented comes from a recognition of a dual audience: the speaker shapes her account for her own satisfaction and for the outside listener's enjoyment. This is a very complex matter and space does not allow us to develop it in any depth, but these two women seem to be developing a freedom which the opportunity for **creating** literature provides. In other words, making something out of experience lifts the responsibilities which words normally carry with them in discourse. The cognitive and imaginative participation in these tapes is very different from the socially-structured discourse of everyday-speech acts.† It is an excellent example of a kind of performance too rarely allowed or encouraged in schools, and yet which has obvious possibilities for students to explore words and experiences in collaboration with others.

(b) **Selection, shaping:** A.J.'s account of a childhood incident, in which she nearly drowned, illustrates how the speaker assumes the role of onlooker to her experiences. Her imagination has worked upon the event, shaping it into a narrative account with added dramatisation of parts. The account is largely second-hand, for although A.J. was the central figure, she was unconscious during most of the event. Moreover, most of the act which she describes, took place while she was not present: she was 'paddling and praying' down the estuary while the children ran to get help. She is relating the experience as it has been told to her:

> Most of what happened I didn't really know about but was told afterwards by my family talking about it.

It was obviously a very important event for all the family, one which would have been a frequent topic of conversation; and from these accounts A.J. has worked out her own version. The account has gained rather than lost appeal through its being second-hand. She speaks as a detached spectator, able to

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*James Britton, *Language and Learning*, p.104.

†For further information, see J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*. For an interesting non-technical discussion, see R. Ohmann, 'Speech, Literature and the Space Between'.

evaluate the effects of the event, yet at times becoming closely involved, shifting between past and present.

She has also selected and ordered the events which she describes. Britton outlines this process:

> I want to suggest that a spectator uses his freedom for the purpose of paying attention, in a way a participant is unable to, not only to the pattern, the form, taken by the feelings of the participants in an experience, but also to the **forms** of other kinds. There is, to begin with, the form presented by the events of the story as it is told, an arrangement given to them by the narrator . . . The form of events in a story depends in part, it will be clear, on what is left out: and then on the arrangement of what is included.*

The tape starts with setting the scene — the family on holidays, visiting relations. Then the actual scene of the incident is introduced — the children playing in a field by the flooded estuary. The main action is related in an understatement:

> We were staying in Northumberland for a short holiday with some relatives of ours before going with them to Scotland. My brother and sister and two of my cousins and myself went to a paddock to feed a horse which was there. An estuary which had cut into the paddock had overflowed covering it with about six inches of water. We all had a great time splashing about and playing in the water but I got a bit too adventurous and went out too far. As I walked along the field I came to the estuary which I didn't even know was there and just stepped off the edge. Sploosh. The tide, the tide was turning then and it started taking me out to sea. I couldn't swim so I paddled along and prayed.

The intonation hardly varies here. It perhaps reflects the ease with which it happened. The matter-of-fact tone is continued as she describes how she 'paddled along and prayed' — a delicate matching of words. It is at this point that the tape 'takes off'. It is also at this point that the speaker disappears from the scene she is describing. These two factors seem to be closely related. Since she was absent from the scene she has had to work on the family's accounts of these events. This has given her freedom in her narrative. Instead of being tied to what she knows happened, she can select from the various accounts, to evolve her own narrative.

(c) **The dramatic imagination:** From the point in the narrative when she falls into the estuary, the speaker is working imaginatively upon the account, shaping it into a dramatic form.

> My cousin and brother and sister who were aged seven, six and four raced home **after drying their feet and putting their shoes and socks back on**, to get my parents to come and get me out.

This small detail of the children drying their feet and putting their shoes and socks back on, is trivial in itself and yet it lifts the account above plain reporting to become an imaginative moment. The inclusion of this detail indicates the way in which this account has been shaped, probably from frequent re-telling by others, and moulded into an imaginative form. This strand of the story is picked up later:

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*James Britton, *Language and Learning*, pp.113, 114.

They would have passed the field except my youngest sister Sharon who was four then, had only just got her shoes and socks on and was then climbing over the fence

Unity is brought into the account through this follow-up of detail. The speaker is both selecting and ordering the events in her narrative.

The dramatic qualities of the narrative are seen most clearly in the section where the children go to fetch the parents. A.J. here turns to direct speech in a dramatic representation of the event:

Finally got there and they said, 'Better come quick 'cos Rose is stuck in a hole'. And Mum said 'Oh, well she'd better get out, hadn't she'! Cousin Alan says, 'Yeah but if you don't come quick she'll be out in the harbour'.

The speaker's voice becomes most animated here; for most of the tape she speaks in a flat monotone, but here the speech quickens and gains expression, varied for each of the speakers.

There is a touch of grim humour in this passage: the picture of A.J. stuck in a hole is rather comical. The family scene is brought alive with the mother's reply of 'Well she'd better get out, hadn't she!' — a typical off-hand response to children's clamours of disaster. As a spectator looking back on the event she can now see the humour which the participants certainly would have missed.

(d) **Reflection and evaluation**: The speaker changes to present tense in the above quote: 'Cousin Alan *says* "Yeah . . ." ' It is the only point in the whole narrative (except where she talks of her own children), where the present tense is used. It can be seen as an indication of the extent to which she is re-creating and re-living the scene. She returns to the past tense immediately, and to the rather expressionless tone, with her understated comment on the action which followed:

Of course that started them moving.

This section is also a special kind of evaluation, where the **doing** and the **saying** play complementary roles in stressing the tension through understatement.

The narrative is broken after she relates how her father rescued her. The role of spectator is clear here: the speaker reflects on the experience and on the possibilities offered by that experience.

I vaguely remember this big silent thing in the middle of the water and trying to get round it. Thought it was some horrible monster but afterwards my Dad showed it to me and it was a big hill and if I'd climbed on that I'd have been alright. There was no way of knowing how long I was in the water. The doctor told my parents that usually you drown between three to five minutes and I had to have been in the water longer than that, because it took them longer than that to get from the house to the field. Apparently what had saved me was I had swallowed a large sheet of newspaper — I don't know how I did that but it stopped the water from getting into my lungs.

There is an interesting shift in the narrative here, from an *account* of the experience to *reflection* on that experience. She moves from the past to the present, with an aside, and then back to the past. Such an appraisal of the situation was certainly not possible while A.J. was in the participant role: she was then only concerned with keeping afloat. It is as a spectator on her experi-

ence that she can analyse cause and effect, consider her reactions and view the incident as a whole.

As a spectator on her own past experience, A.J. considers its effects on her later life. She is far enough away from the incident to present a detached view. She shows a similar detached evaluation when she finally considers the effects on the family immediately after the event: she recognises that the event was probably more upsetting for her parents than for herself.

> My mother was just sittin' there laughin'. My auntie was walking up and down and up and down saying 'Whose fault was it?' and my dad was just sitting there crying. My uncle hadn't been there but when he got home and heard what happened he just walked along beside us saying 'What would I have done if Maurice wasn't there? I can't swim. What would I have done?'

The account takes on a strongly dramatic quality. The family scene is clearly presented: the aunt pacing up and down, the uncle berating himself on what he could not have done, the father crying, and the mother laughing — all are brought into the action. The scene is brought to life through the imagination working upon the event. It is through the speaker adopting the role of spectator that such an imaginative refining of the incident has evolved.

Six months after making the first tape, A.J. made a second recording about the incident. Although this second tape is shorter than the first, some parts are repeated almost verbatim. (She did not have the first recording to check with.)

The selection of the deails repeated in the second tape is significant. It illustrates Britton's point about the narrator choosing details which make for an interesting and effective narrative.

The detail of the children putting their shoes and socks back on is repeated:

> My brother and sisters and cousins dried their feet and put their shoes and socks on and took off home . . .
> They would have passed the field except that my youngest sister Sharon had only just got her shoes and socks on and was climbing the fence to come out.

The dramatisation of the children fetching the parents is also repeated. Direct speech is again used — the speakers are given exactly the same words as on the first tape. The final scene of the adults going over the event is also presented on the second tape. The dramatisation of the event is repeated.

(e) **The dual audience:** The selection of details for the second tape has been made almost unconsciously. But it is significant that the features which brought the first tape to life, which moulded it into an interesting narrative, are the details which are repeated in the second tape. It seems almost an intuitive selection. From the frequent re-telling, the speaker has developed a feeling for what makes a good story. It is not the event alone, but the **way in which it is presented** that gives the account its interest. This is a very important point, much under-stressed in the teaching of English.* The audience has influenced this choice in the way the story is presented — and it is the dual audience that we are thinking of. As a spectator, the speaker becomes her own audience; in re-telling the story she gives pleasure to herself as well as to the external listener.

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*For a wide-ranging view, see R. Baumann, 'Verbal Art as Performance'.

(f) **Spectator role: exploring and analysing: the emergence of self:** W.L. in her monologue also adopts the role of spectator upon her experiences but, unlike A.J.'s monologue, her account is not structured as a single story. As a spectator she reviews various experiences and phases of her life which now seem significant. The monologue provides an opportunity for the speaker to reflect upon her experiences, and to analyse their effects upon her later life. As a spectator she can become an object to herself, a step which George Mead sees as being vital to the development of the self.

> He (the individual) enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or are in his experience: and he becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behaviour in which both he and they are involved.*

W.L. sent in two tapes. On the first she talks of her emigration to Australia and the effects of this on her later life, and on the second, she talks more generally of the trip to Australia and her experiences when she arrived in Australia. On both tapes she is recalling and re-structuring her past experiences. She thus reviews the development of her self, recognising the effects that the attitudes of others had on this development.

W.L. was born in a mining village in Wales. As a girl she was in service at Longleat House. She speaks of the influence this background had on her expectations in life, and on her attitudes towards others. On the tape she dramatises the attitudes some individuals voiced towards her in her serving days, and then evaluates the effects of these attitudes upon her.

> Well when you've been brought up in a village as I had been to — brought up from a time I was very young to think when I left school the best I could hope for in life was to become a very good servant and perhaps one day I might marry — perhaps a miner or something like that . . . I know my first job at home in Longleat House I was there for over twelve months and never once was I called by my first name. It was always 'Thomas do this, Thomas come here, Thomas you're off now'. Sometimes they used to forget I had a first name. Well, this isn't very good for your confidence. It's inclined to make you feel a bit inferior.

She is evaluating the situation not as a serving girl but as a mature woman who has knowledge of a much wider social context than she had as a young girl. Her view is not limited to the inferior/superior dichotomy now. She can look at her experiences objectively, evaluate them and so gain a sense of her self.

(g) **The 'I' and the 'me':** On emigrating to Australia she moved to a different social environment, and in this monologue she discusses the effects of this change: she provides an illustration of the process which George Mead writes about. Her view of her self changed as she moved to this new environment and enjoyed new experiences. The change in the physical environment was not important but the change in the attitudes of others in the social environment

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*George Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*, p.138.

had a marked effect on her view of her self. As she took the attitudes of the others and organised them as her 'me', so she responded to those attitudes with her 'I'. Her view of her self developed.

> What impressed me most when I arrived in Sydney were the people; they were so free, so confident in themselves — arrogant perhaps you could call it . . . not that I'd really call it that now but we did then.

This last comment shows the way in which her attitudes to others have changed. The attitudes of the others in her new social environment contrasted sharply with those of her village. The change in the view of the self, the adjustment of the 'me' and the 'I' to this new social context was not easy. In an understatement, W.L. talks of her response to these new attitudes:

> It's very difficult to take the attitude that they had . . . of course I always thought that people that were a little bit above me in life were my superiors and to see the people of Australia talkin' to their superiors as though they were equals, came as a bit of a shock.

Looking back on the experience she can now see the way in which her own view of her self changed, and can trace the development of her self.

She could not immediately adopt the attitudes of the others in her new environment. One of her first jobs in Australia was as a waitress at the Hotel Canberra. When describing this she returns to the ideas of inferiors and superiors.

> We managed to get a job in Canberra at the Hotel Canberra. We were waitresses there and at the time it was the leadin' hotel and most of, most the politicians used to stay there. Sir Robert Menzies was a frequent visitor to the hotel, as was Arthur Fadden. Another resident of the hotel at the time was Billy Hughes who is the first Welsh Prime Minister, though for Australia — I think he is the only one. He's rather old, a bit trying at times but a dear man and he showed an awful lot of interest in us. I think I gained a lot from him but most of the other politicans treated us well. They used to converse with us, and asked us what we thought, listened to our opinions which rather surprised us — ,we always thought superiors never listened to — to our views and one politician, who shall remain nameless, sent a government car around for us one morning and gave us a personal guided tour of Government House which we thought was very nice.

The intonation is interesting here. She has a lilting southern Welsh accent in which the voice rises slightly at the end of a statement. This intonation pattern is more pronounced when she makes an assertion about herself or when she makes a statement which could be questioned. Her voice then takes on a questioning tone. Here such a pattern occurs — 'listened to our opinions', rises as in a question. It is as if even now she is puzzled by this attitude and is reviewing it. She then summarises this process of the development of her self. She is again stepping outside of herself, becoming an object to herself. Mead has given us the theory on the way the self develops. W.L. here gives us an example. She talks about the development of her self. She has contrasted the social context from which she came with the social context in to which she moved, and has discussed the effects of the new environment on her attitudes. She finally discusses the way in which her view of her self changed as a result of taking into consideration the attitudes of others towards her. She actually states that she became a person then — that her self only emerged then.

> I think that it was from this time that I began to realise that I didn't have to be a servant of the people; that I wasn't servile; that I possibly had as much to offer as anyone else and thinkin' like this it gave me confidence in myself, and I think it was from then that I became a person . . . It was just that I was able to hold my own and become a person.

She is making assertions about herself here and the intonation pattern follows that described above; her voice rises at the end of each assertion as if she is still exploring the idea.

There is an interesting play on words in the shift from the noun 'servant' to the adjective 'servile'.

> I began to realise that I didn't have to be a servant of the people; that I wasn't servile.

This reveals a sensitive use of language. It reflects the speaker's keen awareness of the effects her former position in society had upon her attitudes. There is a similar play on words in the second tape, when W.L. is again speaking on the theme of service.

> We were waited on. Had nothing to do for ourselves. The steward even brought us a cup of tea in the morning which I thought was marvellous. It was nice to be waited on instead of doing the waiting on.

The contrast of passive and active voice reflects the contrast in the speaker's roles of being servant and then served.

(h) **The 'self' as audience:** Throughout the tapes there is a pattern of W.L. adding qualifying comments and asides to her statements. Awareness of her audience probably causes this. She is in the position that was discussed earlier with reference to Mead, of a speaker following up his address with an understanding of what he has said, and altering what would follow.

> We are finding out what we are going to say, what we are going to do, by saying and doing, and in the process we are continually controlling the process itself.*

As she is speaking, W.L. is part of her own audience; she responds to what she has said and adjusts her subsequent speech. This adjustment arises partly as a response to the imagined reaction (in this situation of making a tape), of the unknown listener. The first sentence of the first tape follows this pattern of qualifying comments:

> I've been thinking what's been significant in my life; there's been so many things, I suppose I've had quite a full life really but one of the most significant things I think, although I wasn't aware of it at the time, was when I emigrated to Australia.

The statement 'I've had a full life' is modified in several ways. 'I suppose' prevents the statement from sounding too bold; 'really' comes as an added assessment of the statement by the speaker; 'I think' like 'I suppose' tones down the statement. The speaker does not want to sound over-assertive or presumptuous. The aside 'although I wasn't aware of it at the time' shows an awareness by W.L. that she is reviewing the experience, seeing it now from a new perspective.

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*George Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*, p.140.

Asides are used in this manner throughout W.L.'s tapes. She presents the reactions she felt as a participant, and then comments in an aside as spectator reviewing the experience from a different position — with a different image of her self.

> They were so free, so confident in themselves — arrogant perhaps you could call it . . . not that I'd really call it that now but we did then.

When talking about the ship on which she sailed to Australia she gives her first impressions as a participant and then comments as a spectator on that experience.

> I think we saw the world through rose-coloured glasses. Even the ship. If I saw it today I'd probably think it was a dirty old tub but when I first saw it there I thought it was like a floatin' palace, I, I was awed at first, absolutely beautiful inside.

At one stage W.L. talks of her interest in politics. There is the same movement from a statement about the past, to a comment as a spectator in the present looking back on that past.

> I was a bit of a flag-raiser in them days myself. I always thought that people were treated wrongly. My voice was always raised loud in protest. I think I should have been a professional protester. I'm always sorry that I didn't get into politics. I think if I'd have had the opportunity then I would have done. I always used to say that I could have gone to university and gone into politics. Of course now when I look back on it, I think that that better education bit was a bit of an excuse, be.ause if I'd had it in me I'd have gone to university anyway, somehow or other, and somehow I would have got into politics, wouldn't I. That's just an excuse for my own inadequacy but it served me well for a few years.

There is a certain freshness and honesty in these comments. W.L. is probably being too harsh on herself now with her comment that 'the better education bit was a bit of an excuse'. But such a comment reveals that the speaker is appraising her self. The monologue situation has provided the opportunity for such an appraisal; she really becomes an 'object to her self' here and reviews her self. Even within this passage she shifts her stance. She first comments, 'I think if I'd have had the opportunity then I would have gone into politics'. She seems to reflect on this and then responds to it: 'if I'd had it in me I'd have gone to university anyway'. She is taking part in her own conversation. The 'I' of the self responds to the first statement to produce the second. The first statement is one generally accepted by society: 'I didn't have the opportunity'; but the individual replies to this: 'that's just an excuse'.

(i) **Developing awareness of the 'emerging self'**: At one point on the tape, W.L. deliberately contrasts her present opinions with her feelings at the time of the experience. She had just come to Australia, and went to a job at the Jenolan Caves.

> However we went to Jenolan Caves. Oh what a place that was. I suppose looking back now it was a beautiful place. It is very pretty, but then there was nothing for us to do as soon as we finished work. All we could do was sit and listen to the birds. Well that wasn't really why I came to Australia. I wanted adventure and listening to the birds wasn't my idea of adventure then.

The speaker appears to be making an honest assessment of herself in this last comment. On reflection she can see the humorous side of the experience.

The qualifying adverb 'then', gives force to the comment strengthening the idea of the speaker looking back on the event. In the monologue, through adopting the role of spectator, she realises how her self has changed and developed.

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Students — The Value of Monologue

This student's intelligence and sensitivity are obviously important factors influencing the nature of the tapes, but W.L.'s descriptions and personal evaluations of aspects of a lived life make compulsive listening (and reading!) It is the lack of constraints, of an imagined set of audience assumptions, or of an audience perceived in the conventional 'teacher' role, which may be significant.

In schools, normative patterns of usage, expectation and situational appropriateness tend to govern interactions in language. It may be that teachers should be moving towards classrooms where an atmosphere free of 'extra-language' restraints is provided, where control comes through the need of one person to make himself and his 'self', clear to others. The language learning which would then occur would be more 'normal' to everyday experience, and language users would be less likely to develop verbal limps.

Writing often resembles a monologue situation: but it is generally more constraining than speech. In spoken monologue the speaker can move more easily within his experiences, to explore his 'self'. The anonymity of the tape, addressed to an unknown listener, freed the last speaker to feel able to express herself honestly. Even though consciousness of the unknown audience constrained the first two speakers, they were still able to review their experiences in a way not normally possible. Perhaps the practice of recording monologue should be encouraged for this reason.

These tapes have provided a more personal link between student and tutor. The request for them to speak about an experience in their lives was not an attempt to pry, but to have them speak openly and forget the constraints of the student/teacher situation. Speaking on tape is a more personal form of communication than writing notes on assignments. In correspondence study, many students do not complete the course. We think it significant that all the students who sent in tapes have completed the course.

Although this study refers particularly to external studies, the general inferences, about the effects of audience upon a speaker's presentation of subject, apply to the classroom situation too. The artificial situation of correspondence students talking to an unknown tutor highlights the general problem of audience which all English teachers face. It helps us to recognise the need to provide a genuine range of audience for students' work. More importantly, this study leads us to consider the crucial question: for which purposes do teachers encourage students to use language?

Britton has provided some evidence that schools stress particular kinds of

practical, verifiable language in writing* and elsewhere has suggested that informal gossip is valuable for adolescents.† But there is no data which might enable teachers to evaluate the significance of spoken language for self-exploration. It is an open question whether such potentially intense introspection has value either for language production and quality, or for self identification and personal balance. But our tapes do seem to offer a start for an investigation of the roles and implications of the varieties, or layers, of audiences.

Not enough is known about the needs of adolescents for sympathetic listeners and of the relationship of this need to their general, and to their language, development. The work of David Elkind‡ is pertinent here, however. He has argued that adolescents betray a form of egocentrism straddled across their feelings about audiences, imaginary and real. They will gradually come to recognise the differences between self-preoccupation and the concerns of others as they test out their imagined audiences against reality. Elkind admits that his views are based largely upon his own clinical observation, but there is much scope, in his views, for the 'private talk' we have described here.

Although this monograph has detailed a teaching attitude for education-by-correspondence, its central assumption, that the individual student and his relationship with the teacher is of primary importance, holds for all teaching. Students and children in schools frequently value their relationships with those teachers who are worthy of their respect. It is probably very important for some students, and useful for all students, to be able to test out their egocentrism against assured sympathetic audiences. The method, forced by circumstances during this work, might point to helpful strategies for 'private teachings' in schools.

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*James Britton, *The Development of Writing Abilities* (11-18)
†James Britton, *Language and Learning*, p.169.
‡D. Elkind, 'Egocentricism in Adolescence'.

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